its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchí [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OCTOBER 28, 1940

DOCTOR CHARLES WAGLEY, Columbia University: ***The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organisation as Illustrated by the Tapirape Indians.***

121 In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the general processes of culture change resulting from contacts between European and native peoples. Such studies are part of the study of "acculturation," a term recently defined by Professors Linton, Redfield, and Herskovits: "The crux of the definition lies in the phrase, 'Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact.'"[1] This period of continuous first-hand contact historically follows upon a period of sporadic contact between the native peoples and some few Europeans (fur traders, explorers, missionaries, and even occasional single settlers), which in a sense has prepared the ground for a more intense influence of European culture when relations between the two peoples have become continuous. Few ethnologists have witnessed this period of sporadic contact and histories have little to tell us of it. But during this period, borrowing of European material culture generally occurs. Often the value system of the native culture is shifted, as objects having minor value take on major value for purposes of trade. Of great importance is the introduction of foreign disease, which frequently wipes out large numbers, or even the major part of the native population.

105 The Tapirape Indians, among whom the author lived for more than a year,[2] are a Tupi speaking people living between the Araguaya and Xingu Rivers of Central Brazil near an affluent of the Araguaya which bears their name. They are a forest people and their village lies some fifty miles back from the

[1] Linton, Ralph: *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

[2] This research extended from January 1939 to June 1940, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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Tapirapé River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirapé River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirapé regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirapé will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirapé culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirapé population.

In the memory of one Tapirapé informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[2] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirapé at various times, as it did among the neighboring Carajá Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirapé. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[2] Probably through the Carajá.

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2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzā) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Savajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/403 cont./
T 175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
13 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
[439] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

/404 cont./
center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwáă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĭwŭrá, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed
[284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding be-
[171] tween shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the
[284] other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

● 105 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé
171 are a people who, like the Karajá and Savajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was moleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign disease) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more moleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kive marriage